

**THE L. I. D.
FIFTY YEARS OF
DEMOCRATIC EDUCATION
1905-1955**

To

DR. HARRY W. LAIDLER

*for a lifetime of dedicated service in behalf of the
L.I.D. and its democratic ideals.*

by **MINA WEISENBERG**

LEAGUE for INDUSTRIAL DEMOCRACY
112 EAST 19th STREET NEW YORK 3, N. Y.

Price — 25¢

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Weisenberg, Mina, 1895-

The L. I. D.: fifty years of democratic education, 1900-
1955. New York, League for Industrial Democracy, 1955.

83 p. 23 cm.

1. League for Industrial Democracy.

HX81.L455



335.03273

55-34590

Library of Congress

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Introduction

John Dewey, former President of the League for Industrial Democracy, speaking at the 35th anniversary of the society, reminded his hearers that "democracy above all else in an educational enterprise; that it rests upon faith in public opinion, and upon faith that the democratic process will result in the growth of a public opinion which is capable, enlightened and honest."

It was with a view of playing a role in this educational process that the Intercollegiate Socialist Society was formed in 1905, and has continued functioning as the L.I.D. since 1921. For fifty years the society has drawn to it men and women of great intellectual power, imbued with humane and ethical impulses. These have steadfastly engaged in research, in teaching and lecturing, in the writing of books and pamphlets. They have clarified obscure problems, helped to form social opinion, and to lead the forces of progress under the banner of the L.I.D.

Liberals are incurably intellectuals. Thoughts and ideas, they believe, have an efficacy in achieving results. If you present people with sound arguments, they will be capable of achieving sound conclusions, leading to moral judgments. Their democratic political institutions will translate these judgments into action, according to the will of the people. "Light, More Light"—"Education"—"Freedom of Discussion"—seeing to it that all ideas have substantially an equal chance to be heard—that was the basis for the publications, the lectures, all the activities of the I.S.S.-L.I.D.

George Bernard Shaw once said of an acquaintance, "Good old—! His heart is with us. I wish we had his head as well." The Society has been waging battles to gain the heads, as well as the hearts, of the nation's future leaders.

During the years when forward-looking men and women were torn apart by numerous schisms, it is amazing that the L.I.D. should have maintained its character and clear, purposeful action. This happy result may be credited to the wisdom and the integrity of its leaders, and, more especially, to the tireless stimulation and scholarly capabilities of its director, Dr. Harry W. Laidler.

The history of the L.I.D. might be written by listing the thousands

of names of leaders in every field of American life—economic, political, legal, scientific, educational, social and literary—who received their initial introduction to the problems confronting a democratic society in college chapters of the organization. Or it may be written by listing the books and the pamphlets published under L.I.D. auspices—works on housing, transportation, social security, public utilities, labor, international affairs, monopolies, etc.—or by mentioning the numerous lectures, meetings, conferences, addressed by outstanding speakers, greatly influencing public opinion during the past half century. And, of course, in any story of the League, no historian can ignore the continuous and enthusiastic support and encouragement given to the Executive Director throughout the years by his devoted and talented wife, Agnes A. Laidler, in all of his L.I.D. activities and the efficient and dedicated service of his secretary for the last generation, Sara Kaplan Lowe.

An aphorism often quoted is that "History provides the lamp of experience for guidance in the present." A study of the past fifty years of the L.I.D. will throw a clear light on the problems facing Americans today. The L.I.D. has met periods of conservatism and of liberalism, of reaction and of reform, of economic prosperity and of depression, of war and of peace.

THE BIRTH OF THE INTERCOLLEGIATE SOCIALIST SOCIETY

The early 1900's witnessed the inception of revolts against the abuses of laissez-faire, against the "lawlessness of corporate wealth," against slums and child and sweated labor, and against waste of public resources. Social workers—Jacob Riis, Jane Addams, Robert Hunter, and others—were stirring thoughtful Americans with tragic tales of how the other half lived.

The labor movement during these days was going through a period of great expansion and for the first time in the history of our nation the President, Theodore Roosevelt, helped effect a compromise in a labor impasse in the anthracite coal mine dispute by calling President John Mitchell of the miners to a conference at the White House, along with mine owners. The conference was followed by the signing of a union contract with the entire anthracite coal industry.

Teachers and philosophers left their ivory towers during these days to help extirpate pain and poverty. It was the age of the muck-rakers, of militant protest literature. Ida Tarbell was writing "The History of the Standard Oil Company." Lincoln Steffens was publishing "The Shame of the Cities." Charles Edward Russell was attacking the trusts and Upton Sinclair was at work on "The Jungle."

The Socialist movement, of growing importance in many parts of the world, in the United States, under the leadership of the dynamism of Eugene Victor Debs and the brilliantly keen intellect of Morris Hillquit, socialist theoretician, was furnishing a political outlet for workers and liberals dissatisfied with the conservatism of the major political parties. The young party was growing fast. In 1904 Debs received 400,000 votes as presidential candidate of the Socialist Party. (By 1912 the vote had increased to 900,000).

It was in this atmosphere of protest that the Intercollegiate Socialist Society (the I.S.S.) was born. As Dr. Harry W. Laidler said, "the time was propitious for the organization of the Society."

Pictures of Harry Laidler, still an undergraduate at Wesleyan College in 1905, show a slim, bright-eyed, idealistic youngster. We can envisage him mounting the stairs to the top floor of Peck's Restaurant in New York on September 12th of that year, to attend the meeting called by ten prominent persons "for the purpose of promoting an intelligent interest in Socialism among college men and women, graduate and undergraduate, through the formation of study clubs in the

colleges and universities, and the encouraging of all legitimate endeavors to awaken an interest in socialism among the educated men and women of the country."

The signers of this call were:

Oscar Lovell Triggs	J. G. Phelps Stokes
Thomas Wentworth Higginson	B. O. Flower
Charlotte Perkins Gilman	Leonard O. Abbott
Clarence S. Darrow	Jack London
William English Walling	Upton Sinclair

Upton Sinclair, who presided at that organization meeting, told how he had passed through college without receiving from his professor an understanding of the labor movement and the fundamental social problems of the day and declared, "I decided that since the professors would not educate the students, it was up to the students to educate the professors."

So the I.S.S. was created in 1905. With the election of the young collegian as student member of the Executive Committee, there began a career for Harry W. Laidler that is so closely associated with that organization (since 1921 known as the L.I.D.) as to lead his co-worker, Norman Thomas, to declare, "It is truer of the L.I.D. than it is of most institutions that it's the length and shadow of a man and that the man is Harry Laidler." For thirty of these years his secretary, Sara Kaplan, has ably abetted his work.

THE FIRST 10 YEARS OF THE I.S.S. — 1905-1915

The first president of the I.S.S. was the novelist, Jack London, described in a Yale periodical, in 1906, as a ruddy, stocky figure in a white flannel shirt and rolling flannel collar. In 1906, he travelled from one college to another on behalf of the Society. This tour initiated a new method for educational purposes—a method the I.S.S.-L.I.D. perfected for years, and one later frequently imitated by other organizations.

Discussing the college atmosphere with the students during that trip, Jack London declared, "I did not find the University alive . . . Fight for us, or fight against us. Raise your voices one way or the other; be alive. That is the idea upon which we are working." He urged the indifferent to "cease sitting quietly in their cool libraries, and turning the pages of lifeless books," and to take their part in the fight against poverty, against corruption, against unemployment, and against the other social evils of the day.

Criticisms of the new society soon appeared in the country's press. Answering an attack, written in Collier's Weekly, Thomas Wentworth Higginson said, "The primary aim of the Society was to create students of socialism, not to produce Socialists, and those who criticized this object must be classed with those medieval grammarians who wrote, 'May God confound thee for thy theory of irregular verbs.'"

Reporting a "Dollar Dinner" of the I.S.S. in 1908 in the New York Sun, the writer satirically comments, "From what went on after the dinner had been stowed away, it was gathered that it was the aim of the Society to swat wage slavery with diplomas or smother it with degrees or something." He evinced sorrow at the absence of Vice-President Sinclair, "who would have told of the millionaire with a solid gold fountain in his park."

The first college chapters were formed by Harry W. Laidler at Wesleyan, and by William M. Feigenbaum at Columbia. Within ten years, over sixty college chapters were organized and the I.S.S. had increased its expenditures from \$200 annually to \$10,000. In 1910 Dr. Laidler became Secretary and Organizer of the I.S.S. In a large proportion of the colleges visited during the first years of the Society, Dr. Laidler was the first speaker from outside the college community to have addressed college assemblies and economic and sociology classes on the labor, socialist and social reform movements of the day. In one of the small Virginia colleges, a minister passing through the college town, who had been asked to deliver the prayer before Dr. Laidler addressed the student body, was so disturbed about the message which he thought the speaker was about to bring to the students that he prayed the Lord "to deliver the students from the heretical doctrines which are constantly being presented before them, and prayed especially at this time because of the imminence of such doctrines." But in hundreds of colleges, the informative, scholarly addresses of the League's organizer and other I.S.S. speakers were received with deep interest among the thoughtful students in the college bodies.

Chapters at Princeton, Harvard and other colleges soon followed. At Princeton, when the I.S.S. organizer appeared to address a scheduled meeting, the students organized one of their famous Princeton "pegrades." Organizer Merrick was taken to the lecture hall at the front of the parade on the backs of the students and, following the conclusion of his address, delivered in the midst of firecrackers flung into the open windows, was given an ovation for pursuing his lecture to the bitter end under these trying conditions.

During this early period, a quarterly Bulletin was issued, developing later into "The Intercollegiate Socialist," a magazine to which

many leading figures of the day contributed, including, among others, Beatrice and Sidney Webb, Keir Hardie, Morris Hillquit, Paul H. Douglas, Norman Angell and J. Ramsay MacDonald.

The correspondence files of the early years of the I.S.S. give illuminating sidelights on the history and activities of the organization, and reveal how widespread its influence had become. The following examples will illustrate this:

Professor Vida D. Scudder of Wellesley, closely associated with the Society from its early years and until her recent death, wrote in 1906 requesting the officers to send lecturers to the college, "if you have good speakers—people who can hold their own with an audience at once clever, critical and densely ignorant."

Contributions and membership applications came from lawyers, dentists, librarians, ministers, advertising writers, the president of a mining company, justices of the peace, members of the American Press Writers' Association, and numerous business men.

A youthful exuberant from Leland Stanford University wrote to Upton Sinclair "assuring you of my earnest desire for the reform of the rottenness of modern society . . . I will go to Seattle, which is the most corrupt town on the Pacific coast, and study the lower side there."

Numerous requests appear for a definition or description of socialism. An amusing playlet, written by Jesse Lynch Williams in the "Nassau Monthly" of Princeton University, shows the confused notions by prominent graduates as to what socialism is. The Scientist in the skit ended the discussion of the meaning of socialism in this way: "Well, that explains it all. No wonder intellectually courageous students are peeping into socialism on their own hook. You make a dull subject so fascinating. Bombs and brotherhood, the Christian ideal and its destruction, free love and no love, no law and yet too much!" When one Prominent Graduate asked, "Well, then, what does it mean?" The Scientist replied, "I don't know. You see, I'm a college graduate myself." From Princeton, however, he said, a few years before in 1905, had graduated with a *magna cum laude* a student—Norman Thomas—who did in after years work of colossal proportions in clarifying the meaning of socialism among millions of his fellowmen.

From Cambridge, Massachusetts, in 1906 comes a note, "Yesterday I received from the I.S.S. the little sheet 'Political Decay' by Prof. E. A. Ross, and it was so good that I sent it to one of the instructors here who has a very clear head and good heart about such matters."

Edwin Fairley, a teacher, wrote that a certain professor "is reported to have boasted that a Socialist has never graduated from Amherst since he has held his present chair. Now I got my start in Political

Economy at Amherst, and I don't want the old college to be a back number. I have a pet student at Amherst who is a Socialist, but I guess a vox clamantis in deserto." It should be noted that a few years later Amherst contained one of the strongest and most distinguished chapters of the I.S.S. in the history of the Society.

One of our active members, Abraham Epstein, a leading pioneer and advocate of social security until his untimely death, was instrumental in organizing a chapter in the University of Pittsburgh.

Not all communications were favorable. Possibly, Mr. William Lloyd Garrison, Jr. was before his time in thinking of the type of totalitarian society which the Soviet falsely terms socialism, when he wrote, "I hold with Herbert Spencer that socialism is the coming slavery, and I believe that the world languishes because of too much government and too little liberty. Of course, I recognize the altruistic spirit of many who call themselves Socialists, and respect their aims."

Governor Chase S. Osborn of Michigan in 1912 warmly applauded the University of Michigan's Socialist Society. He told them, "The right way of the future is to be discovered by those who are making earnest search for the truth, and I believe that you are doing that above all other considerations, and before you take any thought of political profit. The truth is what we should all desire, and, if it can come through the work of educated socialism, it will be none the less welcomed."

In the 1912 I.S.S. Bulletin, Professor V. Karapetoff of Cornell University reports, "College administrations have shown great wisdom in not interfering with the formation and peaceful activities of the I.S.S. Chapters. That which is not permitted in open will exist in secret, with all the degrading features of an illegal activity . . . It is a well established policy of I.S.S. Chapters to invite speakers opposed to socialism. From an educational point of view this is an excellent training for analysis and debate." (Our too fearful anti-communist politicians, who fear to permit college students to debate the pros and cons of recognizing communist China, please take note!) In fact, the I.S.S. voted to membership all students, whatever their economic or political viewpoints—socialist, non-socialist, anti-socialist—who were desirous of understanding the meaning of the social requirements of the day.

In 1910 a petition of 300 students in Harvard for a course on socialism bore fruit. This amazing group of collegians had as members of its Harvard Chapter Kenneth R. Macgowan, Nicholas Kelley, Heywood Brown and Lee Simonson. Their President, Walter Lippmann, proudly declares, "The only evil we really fear is blind ignorance. . . . In a general way our object was to make reactionaries, stand-

patters; standpatters, conservative liberals; conservative liberals and liberals, radicals, and radicals, Socialists. In other words we tried to move everyone up a peg . . . We preferred to have the whole mass move a little, to having a few move altogether out of sight."

1912 and 1913 were great years for the I.S.S. The New York Dental College, hoping to make its chapter the banner group among professional institutions, published an excellent monthly, "The Progressive Dentist," the revenue from which was to be used to establish a dental clinic. This work was done under the leadership of Dr. Maurice S. Calman, later a socialist Alderman responsible for establishing dental clinics in New York schools. Dr. Calman, now an eminent dentist, is still an active member of the L.I.D. In this year, "The Intercollegiate Socialist," a new quarterly, edited by Dr. Laidler, began publication.

A number of colleges adopted plans at this time similar to Barnard's, where Freda Kirchwey reported, "Many of the members felt last year that the club followed no definite course of action, had engaged to a great extent in desultory discussion. This fall, therefore, one of the shorter courses of study, suggested in the pamphlet on study courses, was adopted as the basis for the year's work."

"Light. More Light!" became the I.S.S. slogan. To shed that light many meetings were held in New York and throughout the country. Charles Beard and Fred C. Howe discussed the trust problem. Lincoln Steffens spoke to 500 Yale students on "Graft—Its Cause and Cure." John Haynes Holmes and Meyer London spoke on the "Roads That Lead to Socialism." Harry W. Laidler was continuously in the field, from Maine to California, quoting figures on wages and child labor, and pointing to economic waste and to the industrial, political, social and intellectual monopoly control in the United States. Chapters were set up following his work.

The influence of the Society was spreading even abroad. The famous anti-war German, Karl Liebknecht, said that the only American publication with which he was familiar was "The Intercollegiate Socialist."

The Society could fill Carnegie Hall in 1912 and 1913. Several mass meetings were successfully held there. At one, on "Industrial Unionism," a New York Sheriff, with his deputy sheriffs, came to forestall the advocacy of sabotage, about which he declared, "I don't know what sabotage is, but if anyone advocates it I will arrest him immediately." It is said that at the end of the meeting the Sheriff and his officers contributed to the collection.

A debate between Samuel Untermyer, corporation lawyer, and

Morris Hillquit brought tremendous crowds and publicity. For newly-elected Congressman Victor Berger of Milwaukee, and for visiting British Labor leader, Keir Hardie, there were successful Carnegie Hall meetings.

Then came the First World War. The first period of I.S.S. history had ended.

THE WAR AND THE POST-WAR YEARS, 1915-1921

The I.S.S. consistently reiterated that "to study socialism commits the students to nothing whatever. They may reject it in theory and combat it in practice." Dr. Laidler explained to them that "The Society has never in its history committed its members to any creed or line of tactics." The organization emphasized its educational nature; its aim to acquaint collegians not only with socialist doctrines, writings and theories, but also to influence college-bred men and women, rapidly assuming a growing part in the weightiest affairs of the nation, towards an understanding of the economic, political and social problems of the day. Nevertheless, the history of the Socialist Party during World War I had important repercussions upon the organization.

From the vantage point of the 1950's it is difficult for us to appreciate the simple faith of some of the early Socialists who held the naive belief that once the major industries were nationalized, and wealth more equitably distributed, most of the serious social and economic problems would be solved. Some likewise sincerely expected Socialists in the various countries to put international labor above all considerations of nationalism.

These Socialists were to hear two severe blows. The first was the European Socialists' failure to act as internationalists when the First World War began. Especially were many American Socialists shocked at the nationalistic spirit of the German Social Democrats, one of the leading parties of that country. The second blow was the realization, with the development of the totalitarian evils in Soviet Russia, that nationalization of industry alone would not bring the millennium.

The leaders of the I.S.S. for the most part had no such illusions. They were constantly emphasizing the fact that nationalization under a dictatorial state could constitute a great menace to society and that only as public industry was democratically administered in a democratic state did it give promise of solving the great social evils of the day. Democracy was the end, and public ownership and democratic management of the key industries, only a means to this end.

Most of the I.S.S. leaders likewise had become acquainted with the failure before World War I of European Socialists at their international conferences to decide upon any common line of action once war broke out, and knew something of the powerful pressures that governments at war could exert upon the activities of their respective citizens.

In the United States, after the outbreak of World War I, the socialist movement was rent by schisms. Members of the Socialist Party had been traditionally anti-war. An emergency convention of the party in 1916 approved the famous St. Louis resolution declaring its opposition to the United States' entrance into the European war, an action followed by the resignation of many prominent party members.

After the Russian Revolution in 1917, further factional differences developed between the Right and Left Wings. The I.S.S., though an educational, discussion organization consisting of men and women of various shades of economic and social thought, could not be immune from these cross-currents of opinion. Some of the leaders were against America's entrance into the war, some contending that, if the country remained out, it would be in a better position, in case of stalemate, to help in mediating a democratic peace. Others, J. C. Phelps Stokes among them, felt that the organization should issue a public statement declaring that it stood "unequivocally by the President of the United States in the unparalleled crisis that confronts the country as well as the rest of the world."

The majority of the Board insisted that the I.S.S. as such should not take an official position on this question. The result was a few resignations among the officers, though the membership remained, for the most part, intact.

During the months of America's involvement, the discussion of controversial social and international problems, of the causes and cure of war, of proposed terms of peace, and of reconstruction after the war, was discouraged in many cities and on many campuses. Numbers of colleges were virtually turned into R.O.T.C. encampments where the majority of students gave their primary thought to preparedness for military service.

Under these conditions, many college chapters failed to continue their activities, and lecture and organizing work became restricted.

As secretary of the Society, Dr. Harry W. Laidler felt, with Paul U. Kellogg of the Survey, that, despite the obstacles encountered, "it was up to the Society to try to keep the embers of a watch-fire glowing to light new torches for a younger generation." He predicted a drive on democracy with the war's end. He urged that the activities of the

Society and its college chapters he maintained to prevent a disastrous loss of league prestige, as well as a loss to democratic society.

The I.S.S. during these days continued to hold its annual conventions at which labor and world problems were debated. In New York, one of the freest forums in the country was held throughout the war—the Saturday Camaraderies under the auspices of the N. Y. Chapter and the able leadership of Louise Adams Floyd. Week-end conferences on burning questions of the day were held at Whittier's Old Homestead in New Hampshire, at William F. Cochran's beautiful camp, Sherwood Forest, in Maryland, and at the home of Katherine and Darwin Meserole in Long Island. In the closing days of the war, Dr. Laidler went to Washington to survey the scope and achievements of war-collectivism, while Ordway Tead, for a while Research Director, began a study of reconstruction programs in Great Britain.

In 1919, the society began the publication of a monthly, the *Socialist Review*, which replaced the quarterly and lasted for 18 months. The purpose of the review was to serve as a record and survey of the labor and socialist movement, and not as a propaganda organ, and to tell of the experiments, achievements, thoughts and significant events in industrial and political struggles here and abroad.

Many well-known foreign leaders, both literary and political, contributed to the new monthly, as well as leaders in the American field. Social Democrats of Hungary wrote an appeal to the workers of the world against the Red Terror. In the same period articles appeared opposing the boycott of Russia. Numerous contributions in the field of labor and unionism were publicized.

THE L.I.D. IN THE TWENTIES

The reorganization of the I.S.S. as the League for Industrial Democracy in 1921 was a recognition of the need for a new orientation. Membership in the Society was opened to non-collegians, and a broader scope was envisaged. The new motto was "Production for Use, Not for Profit." An organizing pamphlet states the L.I.D.'s aims as follows: "The L.I.D. tries to bring into the field of thought and discussion all phases of the movement, conscious and unconscious, toward a social order which acknowledges the supremacy of human need rather than private profit as its organizing principle . . . But it is trying to deal with that generalization in a scientific spirit, attempting to test it by the facts, to substitute knowledge for assertion, and reasoned conviction for blind acceptance of popular slogans."

Norman Thomas joined Dr. Laidler as a co-Executive Director the following year, and shortly thereafter Paul Blanshard became Field Secretary. Robert Morss Lovett became the League's first President, with the electrical wizard, Charles P. Steinmetz, its Vice-President. Florence Kelley, eminent social worker and crusader against child labor, and Arthur Gleason still remained active League members.

Speaking of Thomas and of Blanshard, Dr. Laidler reported, "From then through part of the thirties, these two magnetic speakers carried the message of industrial democracy to student and civic groups in all parts of the country, and proved towers of strength to the progressive movement." He continued, "During many of these years, Paul R. Porter (later Assistant Administrator, E.C.A.); George Edwards, (later Detroit Judge); Monroe Sweetland (editor of the *Oregon Democrat*); Joel Seidman, labor economist (now professor at the University of Chicago); LeRoy Bowman, adult educator (now teaching at Brooklyn College) and others, organized and lectured, with significant results, reaching hundreds of thousands of the youth of our land." Their work, and Harry Laidler's, succeeded in establishing over 100 student chapters in the colleges by the end of the twenties.

The addition of Mr. Thomas and Mr. Blanshard to the L.I.D. staff gave Dr. Laidler more time for his research and writing. His books, "Social Economic Movements," "Concentration of Control in American Industry" and "A Program for Modern America" have been considered a "must" reading for all serious students of social studies, and have established Dr. Laidler as one of the leading scholars and authorities on the subjects he treated in the United States. In 1926, the League Secretary, The Committee and its Secretary, throughout their scholarly surveys, public hearings, news releases, magazine articles and books and pamphlets on public control of coal and electric power, did much to influence the public power developments of the next decade. Following Mr. Raushenbush, Dr. F. L. Bird ably led this Committee.

Mary Fox, graduate of Vassar and progressive educator, joined the staff as Executive Secretary in the late twenties. For ten years her imaginative planning and promotional activities helped powerfully to stimulate and expand the work of the League.

During this period an excellent series of leaflets, by well-known authors, published by the L.I.D., were effectively used. In leaflet No. 3, "More Power to You," Evelyn Preston wrote of Electric Power and the Good Life.

George Bernard Shaw's article in the *Bulletin* of the L.I.D. in 1927 repeated his advice to young people, "All who achieve real distinction in life begin as revolutionists. The most distinguished persons

become more revolutionary as they grow older . . . Any person under the age of thirty who, having any knowledge of the existing social order, is not a revolutionary, is an inferior." He writes that inherited wealth and absentee financial control seem to him "unsportsmanlike . . . as if an old college grad should try to pass on his college credits to his son."

This was an age when idealistic collegians were not afraid to be labeled liberal and radical. The First World War, with its losing battle to create a world safe for democracy, had made many young people deeply pacifist. Throughout the country the Oxford Movement was gaining momentum. In 1925 Felix Cohen, son of Morris Cohen, the famous philosopher, later, until his unfortunately premature death in 1953, to become well known as a fighter for the rights of American Indians, led a widely publicized battle against R.O.T.C. at City College. College students throughout the country sent 100,000 petitions to Washington against military training. A United Youth Conference called by the L.I.D. and other groups was attended by 600 delegates who supported the Oxford Resolution.

The manner in which students were being trained in League circles to thoughtful weighing of the issues in controversial matters is evidenced in a small pamphlet issued in New Haven by L.I.D. Chapter members at Yale. George Brooks, Fred C. Hyde, and J. B. Whitelaw called their paper "Is This Fair Play?—An Investigation of the Neckwear Workers' Strike." The young investigators report: 1. The case for employers; 2. The case for the Union; 3. Civil liberties involved; 4. The newspaper situation in New Haven. "The reason we are compelled to print this leaflet," the collegians declare, "is that the ordinary channels of public information have been closed to the Union by the silence of the New Haven press."

The Harvard Socialist Club printed in its periodical an arraignment of the University President, Lowell, for his part in the executions of Sacco-Vanzetti.

New York University L.I.D.'ers helped picket in the strike of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union.

The meetings and Conferences of the League during the twenties reflected the changing conditions and ideologies of the times. Here were discussed the European revolutions; the Harding corruption and post war slump; the so called "American Plan" for the destruction of trade unions; the Palmer raids; the Sacco and Vanzetti case; the Plumb Plan for the railroads; the LaFollette Progressives; the budding labor bank development; the new developments in cooperation; the struggle for public power and against monopoly controls; the meaning of the "New Capitalism", and the forces back of the Wall Street crash.

THE DEPRESSION YEARS, 1930-1938

In the late twenties, when many economists and businessmen were predicting that the "new capitalism" had found the key to an era of permanent prosperity, many a collegian felt that his future was secure, and that most of the social problems raised by the League were on the way to immediate solution.

Hardly, however, had they arrived at this conclusion than the United States found itself in the midst of the greatest depression in the history of the country, a situation which led to the increasing discussion throughout the country of whether the capitalistic order would survive; what type of cooperative order might be possible and desirable; and, more immediately, the need for social insurance, public works, collective bargaining and other "New Deal" measures to put an end to the depression.

Ways and means of developing trade and industrial union organization among the great corporations of the country also came in for much discussion. Tens of thousands of college men and women and members of the professions found themselves facing long periods of unemployment or semi-employment, and college interest in the message of the League greatly increased.

Walter P. Reuther, organizer and President of the Wayne University Chapter of the League, in 1932 declared, "One of my first activities in the L.I.D. was to lead one S.L.I.D. Chapter of which I was chairman in the picket lines of the Briggs' strike of 1932."

The problem of the rising fascism of the thirties was likewise a serious concern to both student and city chapters, and the Student L.I.D. prepared a pamphlet in 1935 on "Italian Intellectuals under Fascism". At that early time it recognized that a fascist regime spelt the near death of intellectual life. Columbia students during that period also challenged the reception of 350 Italian students sent to the United States by Mussolini.

In the depression years of this decade, the L.I.D. engaged in a number of new projects. Under the leadership of Mary Fox, the League issued a pictorial magazine, "The Unemployed", which sold hundreds of thousands of copies. It investigated the unemployed relief situation, and organized committees in New York, Chicago and elsewhere with a view of making that relief more adequate. It pioneered in urging a concentrated federal attack upon the social evils of that period, and pleaded for a program of social security which later materialized in some of the measures of the New Deal.

In two series of broadcasts from coast to coast on the problems

of the New Deal, under the auspices of the L.I.D., Thurman Arnold, Roger Baldwin, John Dewey, Morris Ernst, Harry W. Laidler, Bishop Francis J. McConnell, Wesley C. Mitchell, Reinhold Niebuhr, Norman Thomas, Rexford G. Tugwell and many others critically evaluated the government's program.

During the early thirties, Mary Fox and Mary Hillyer, among others, organized an L.I.D. lecture series in from 40 to 50 cities in the East, South and Middle West, in each of which 6 to 8 distinguished speakers addressed in an integrated program audiences from 200 to 800. Discussion outlines were used to make the course more valuable to those attending.

The League's challenging and valuable pamphlet program was continued. A six weeks summer school for training young college people for organizing and other union work was initiated. For many years following, students attended L.I.D. summer schools. Many young men and women trained in this fashion became active leaders in civic, labor and cooperative movements. An Emergency Committee for Strikers' Relief was organized under the chairmanship of Norman Thomas and the secretaryship of Reinhold Niebuhr, with John Herling as able assistant.

The L.I.D. helped to mobilize public opinion against the attacks on civil liberties, as involved in the Tampa, Herndon and Scottsboro cases. By published pamphlets and by meetings, the League fought to improve the conditions of southern sharecroppers. "The Plight of the Sharecroppers" by Norman Thomas had an excellent sale.

The doctrine of economics of abundance versus the scarcity theories of the classicists was likewise being discussed in L.I.D. lectures, books and pamphlets. "The L.I.D. dares to believe that industrial civilization can be made to provide an abundant life for all. Only, we must develop a social control equal to the highly complex and interdependent technical structure we have built."

Stuart Chase, in his inimitable style, in the pamphlet, "Poor Old Competition," published in 1932, declared, "The doctrine of free competition is about in the condition of the enterprising young man:

There was a young man who said, "Why
Can't I look in my ear with my eye?

If I put my mind to it,

I'm sure I can do it.

You never can tell till you try!"

Free competition, Chase said, "sets up an ideal which never has worked, never can work, and is utterly contrary to human behavior."

The developed consciousness of the evils inherent in totalitarianism, as envisaged in Italy's fascism, in Germany's nazism, and in Russia's communism, as we maintained, resulted in much soul searching by L.I.D. authors. Norman Thomas and Joel Seidman wrote a meaty and scholarly pamphlet on "Russia — Democracy or Dictatorship?". Professor Morris R. Cohen in an article "The Intellectual Basis of Individualism" writes. "How to combine the principles of collectivism with the principles of individualism is a problem which varies in different situations, at different times and places . . . Collectivism and individualism have been fighting faiths . . . We must have principles in order to have programs, and to follow a given direction rather than get lost and wander aimlessly, but we must not follow a principle to destruction—that is the essence of fanaticism."

In his pamphlet "Public Ownership Here and Abroad," Harry W. Laidler discussed the question of managerial efficiency and democratic control. "The best friend of public ownership," declared Laidler, "is not he who shuts his eyes to present defects, but he who, with a profound faith in industrial democracy, takes up one by one these administrative questions, and gives his best contribution to their solution." He felt that this clear, wise thinking might create a public ownership that held out to humanity the elimination of competitive wastes, fairer distribution of wealth, democratic controls, the strengthening of non-profit incentives, and the expansion of the use of commodities and services most conducive to human welfare.

THE L. I. D., 1940-1955

The June 1940 Conference of the League had as its topic, "Re-Thinking the Problems of Social Change." A report issued in connection with this Conference voiced the belief that, if democracy was to be preserved under a cooperative order, "workers, technical and administrative staffs and consumers should be adequately and democratically represented in the management of publicly owned industry; that voluntary cooperative industry and private ownership should be retained under a collectivist order; that public industries should be decentralized as much as is compatible with social efficiency; that consumers' choice should be free, and that people should be continually made to realize that not mere productivity, or the glory and the power of the rulers of the state, but the maximum of development of the great mass of individuals living in the community should be the primary social good."

In 1943 the Constitution of the League was modified to express the purpose of the organization as "education for increasing democracy in our economic, political and cultural life." Economic democracy became the dominant note. Dr. Laidler presided at a round table discussion on "Post-War Planning and Full Employment" at the Summer Institute of Social Progress at Wellesley. A New York conference thoroughly explored the question of "The Third Freedom—Freedom from Want." "Free Enterprise and Full Employment" was the topic of the 1945 Spring Conference. The more recent conferences have discussed such challenging questions as "Needed: A Moral Awakening in America"; "The Crisis in American and World Resources"; "How Free is Free Enterprise?", and "The Next Fifty Years."

L.I.D. members have had opportunities to hear the most thoughtful leaders of liberal forces, both foreign and American, during these years. Among those from abroad were Mr. M. J. Coldwell of the C.C.F. of Canada; Walter Nash, New Zealand Deputy Premier; Minister Trygve Lie, Secretary General of the UN; Dr. Jan Masaryk of Czechoslovakia, and members of the British Parliament: Margaret Bondfield, Sir Stafford Cripps, Jennie Lee, Margaret Cole, Arthur Creech Jones, Bertrand Russell, and Donald Chapman. Labor leaders of the United States who addressed the League included William Green, George B. Meany, Walter Reuther, and David Dubinsky, Julius Hochman, James B. Carey, A. J. Hayes and Mark Starr. Wallace J. Campbell, Jerry Voorhis and others reported on Consumer Cooperatives, one of the many facets of L.I.D. interests. An alertness course for New York teachers, organized by Mina Weisenberg, had as lecturers Lewis Corey, Harry Elmer Barnes, Paul U. Kellogg, Arthur Feiler, James G. McDonald, Bruce Bliven, Harold Rugg, Abraham Epstein, and Peter Drucker, among others.

Research and education through lecture series and pamphlets have continued. Concise, authoritative material has been widely influential in opening new frontiers in thought. Among the topics of research have been housing, social security, transportation, labor relations, power, medical care, cooperation, race problems, economic planning, and the role of progressives in an atomic age.

Katrina McCormick Barnes has been a tireless, inspirational pamphlet secretary.

The pamphlet literature of the last few years has been excellent and well received. Dr. Laidler's "A Brief History of Socialism in the United States" has been used in numerous colleges. Over 90,000 copies of "The Forward March of American Labor" by Joseph Glazer and Theresa Wolfson have been ordered by trade unions and schools. The pamphlet by Seymour E. Harris on "National Health Insurance and

Alternate Plans for Financing Health" is a unique, pioneering job of acquainting Americans with this serious problem. Robert J. Alexander's treatise, "World Labor Today" presents encyclopedic information on trade union movements of many lands. The "Taft Hartley Act in Action" has been an extremely influential work in collegiate and union circles. Norman Thomas' "Democratic Socialism—A New Appraisal" has been widely circulated. The 1954 L.I.D. pamphlet "How Free is Free Enterprise?" sums up the findings of a recent conference.

Cooperation with other organizations have extended L.I.D. influence. The League frequently sends representatives to attend meetings called by associations for some specific purpose, in reference to housing, civil liberties, social security, education, etc. Mrs. Isabelle B. Friedman, as L.I.D. delegate to the A.A.U.N. (American Association for the United Nations) and to the N.G.O. (Non-Governmental Organization of the UN) has worked zealously to educate the public to the importance of the United Nations if a world of peace and security is ever to be attained. Mina Weisenberg represents the L.I.D. in the Coordinating Committee of the Public Education Association.

The League has had chapters in many cities, but the most active one has been that in New York. Among those serving as Presidents of this chapter have been Dr. Reinhold Niebuhr, Rev. John Paul Jones, Professor LeRoy Bowman, Carl Rachlin, Benjamin Naumoff, and Isabelle B. Friedman. During the past few years the New York Chapter has organized interesting field trips, such as the visit to the Wiltwyck School, where Dr. Ernst Papanek acted as host, followed by a reception by Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt at Hyde Park. Many meetings on timely topics have been held at the home of Adelaide Schukkind and Walter Frank. New York Chapter citations have been bestowed upon Charles Abrams for his work on housing; upon Professor George S. Counts and Dr. Abraham Lefkowitz for outstanding services in education; and on Norman Thomas, one time co-Executive Director of the League, in honor of his seventieth birthday and for his fifty-year career as a tireless, courageous worker for peace, democracy and human brotherhood.

In recent years the L.I.D. has made a practice of granting annual awards for outstanding services to the nation. Among the recipients of the awards have been Trygve Lie, then UN Secretary General; Senators Hubert H. Humphrey, Herbert H. Lehman and Wayne Morse; David Dubinsky, President of the I.L.G.W.U.; William Green and George Meany, Presidents of the A.F. of L.; Philip Murray, President of the C.I.O.; Ralph J. Bunche; Oscar L. Chapman; and Eleanor Roosevelt. It is fitting that the 1955 award was given to Dr. Harry W. Laidler.

John Dewey awards to former L.I.D. student leaders have honored

Walter P. Reuther, CIO President; Senator Paul H. Douglas; Dr. Selman A. Waksman; Leland Olds; Professor Sidney Hook; Paul R. Porter; Clarence Senior; Felix Cohen (posthumous); and Professor Theresa Wolfson.

THE STUDENT L.I.D., 1930-1955

Unfortunately, the continuity of college organization was interrupted in the thirties. Over a hundred chapters had been vigorously active under the leadership of Joseph Lash, Monroe Sweetland, George Edwards, and others. The student L.I.D. had published a magazine "Revol," later called "The Student Outlook" with contributions by Sidney Hook, Herman Wolf, Arnold Beichman and many others. Work for peace, for aiding underground activities in fascist countries, for preserving civil rights, for strike aid—all these were of interest to the young collegians. But the young people could not resist the increased pressure and clamor for unity resulting from the Communist Party's Popular Front line. With great reluctance and against the advice of the general organization, the autonomous student L.I.D. gave up its identity and its connection with the L.I.D., and merged with other youth groups to form in 1935 the American Student Union.

The college men and women were soon to learn the lesson that many other sad liberals had learned previously—that you can cooperate with Communists only by accepting their line and leadership. After five years of contention, a final blow, the Soviet invasion of Finland, caused a split which broke up the A.S.U.

Summer Institutes for college students were organized by the L.I.D. in the forties, and Dr. Joel Seidman and Dr. LeRoy Bowman, as has been mentioned, were sent as lecturers to universities throughout the country, but it was not until the postwar period that L.I.D. chapters were again established, with Jesse Cavalier, James Farmer, Harold Lewack, and James E. Youngdahl as members of S.L.I.D. staffs.

The 1947 Constitution of the S.L.I.D. effectively stopped all further cooperation with Communists. It reads: "Membership in the S.L.I.D. is confined to young people who believe in education for economic, political and cultural democracy; who believe in the democratic way of life as a means and a social goal. By virtue of the democratic aims of the League, advocates of dictatorship and totalitarianism, and of any political system that fails to provide for freedom of speech, of press, of religion, of assembly, and of political, economic and cultural organizations; or of any system that would deny civil rights to

any person because of race, color, creed, or national origin are not eligible for membership. Nor are those eligible whose political policies are wholly or largely determined by the policies laid down by the leaders of a foreign government."

The college chapters have reflected many of the problems dividing liberals during the last ten years, making it difficult to organize and to maintain them at times. However, a number of vigorous, active groups have been functioning. At present James Farmer, a graduate of Wiley College and of Howard University and formerly the National Chairman of the Congress of Racial Equality, is doing an outstanding lecturing job as Student Field Secretary aided by a student Executive Committee, of which Jerome Breslaw was the 1954-5 chairman. In 1955, the Yale Chapter, the John Dewey Society, under the leadership of André Shifrin, constituted the S.L.I.D.'s banner chapter.

Harold Lewack has written a well-documented "Brief History of the S.L.I.D." In the last section, which he calls "Operation Bootstrap" he declares, "The efforts of certain legislators to cancel the social gains of the thirties and forties, and the activities of Senator McCarthy, have aroused many students on the campus, and have led to an increased interest in the educational program of the S.L.I.D."

The L.I.D. has had distinguished presidents. The first president, Robert Morss Lovett, was succeeded in 1940 by the great American philosopher, John Dewey. Successively, Elisabeth Gilman, leader in race relations organizations; Dr. Bjarne Braatoy, author and at one time Professor of Government at Haverford College; and Mark Starr, Educational Director of the I.L.G.W.U., have headed the organization. Since 1948, Nathaniel M. Minkoff, Secretary-Treasurer of the Joint Board of the I.L.G.W.U., A.F. of L., has been League President. Under his leadership, great strides have been made in L.I.D.-Labor Union cooperation.

SOME EDUCATIONAL ACHIEVEMENTS

For fifty years the L.I.D. has emphasized the need for democratic values in the field of economics as well as in politics.

Of the League's educational work in the college field in the past, Professor George S. Counts has the following to say:

"Since its founding in 1905, the League for Industrial Democracy, in my opinion, has done more than any other organization in arousing the social conscience and advancing the political understanding of students in our colleges and universities. From the

beginning it has opposed all forms of bigotry, obscurantism, and totalitarianism and remained true to the inscription on its mast-head, 'education for increasing democracy in our economic, political, and cultural life.' It is dedicated without reservation to that sublime faith in the human mind which is the foundation of foundations of free society in all ages."

The League has developed closely integrated relations with the labor and the cooperative movements. The value of the scholarly research and the publications of the League, and their influence on public understanding, attitudes and legislation have been monumental.

A good friend of the League, David Dubinsky, President of the I.L.G.W.U., warmly commends the work of the L.I.D. He says:

"The unions need the men and women of education. We need their skills, as writers, economists, educators, researchers, engineers, lawyers. I also see the liberal intellectual as a sort of a vital unifying force through which labor can convey its aspirations to other sections of the population: teachers, preachers, artists, authors, philosophers."

It is a wondrous thing to realize how many of the dreams of the early pioneer members of the I.S.S.-L.I.D. have materialized into practical, accepted policies and activities of American society during these years. Who could have anticipated that the labor legislation, social security, public housing, pleading for which the League felt, at times, like a voice crying out in the wilderness, would now be commonplace public policies? Increased public health, educational and employment services have greatly improved the amenities of industrial living. There has been a healthy, continuous growth in trade union membership.

For fifty years the L.I.D., under the capable leadership of Harry W. Laidler and others, has preached, taught, analyzed, and fought to make the American dream a reality. It has organized thousands of meetings, published and distributed millions of copies of its books and pamphlets, addressed countless numbers of people directly and through radio and television. To what extent the L.I.D. is responsible for the social gains already realized cannot be measured. That the society was one of the responsible, effective agencies that initiated actions and created public opinion for achieving these results cannot be denied.

The work of the I.S.S.-L.I.D. in stirring youth to keen thinking, idealistic hopes and courageous, constructive actions has had its effect in all fields of American life. The roster of the past college chapter leaders and members who have become renowned in their own fields, is long and honorable. Who can weigh the impact of an educational organization on an individual? All the L.I.D. can say is: We in the L.I.D.

proudly point to these leaders—they have listened to our lectures, read our pamphlets, heard our arguments for social betterment, been moved by the impassioned pleading, stimulated by the keen analyses of L.I.D. organizers, and have joined with us to work for a better world.

THE NEXT FIFTY YEARS

What is the role of the L.I.D. in the years ahead?

As in the past, the L.I.D. must forthrightly protest communist colonialism. The League must study aids to dependent peoples everywhere to achieve freedom and democracy, and, to quote an address of President George Meany of the A. F. of L., at the 49th Annual Conference, must seek "to increase the productivity and purchasing power of millions of people in the non-totalitarian world, and to eliminate the obstacles to trade in this free area."

The fear of international communism, which has engendered a fear of being different, has created a problem for L.I.D. college leaders and student organizers. They must stand in the forefront in the struggle to impress upon youth the need to seek the truth with integrity, to oppose bigotry, to join courageously in the struggle against ruthless, arbitrary attacks against personal liberties.

The free enterprise economy of the past century has ceased to exist and with it the laissez-faire policies of past eras lie buried. What has emerged in America may be termed a mixed economy, characterized by big corporations, powerful trade unions and regulatory government controls that are more or less effective. The League, as in the past, will study the industrial situation and formulate programs for the maintenance of a stable prosperity and full employment.

We cannot foresee all the social and economic consequences of an atomic age. But we must be prepared to study and to meet these problems as they arise.

There have been breathtaking changes in industry in the last few years. The public mind must be educated to the significance of automation and cybernetics. More and more laborers are becoming engineers or junior engineers. Service workers are rapidly increasing in number in comparison with old time skilled and unskilled labor. Unions are reorienting their administrative machinery for future effectiveness. New democratic techniques must be developed to assure efficiency without bureaucracy.

The phenomenal growth of labor unionism and labor power in

fifty years has been a source of profound satisfaction to the L.I.D. As in the past the League must call upon its skilled researchers, analysts and writers to cooperate with the trade unions in formulating programs for dealing not only with the problem of automation with which mature powerful unions are concerned, but with many other problems as well.

How should unions handle their vast health and welfare funds so as to provide social betterment for their members and the community? How can large unions function democratically so as to preserve the rights of individuals? How can a guaranteed annual wage be gained, while at the same time avoiding untoward economic consequences? What are the human relations problems of workers in an age of cybernetics—trainings for early retirements, cooperation with community civic and political activities, etc.? How can trade union collective bargaining rights be gained and used by the increasing mass of government employees? All these questions and others must be a matter of study for scholarly economists.

"Democracy", in the words of Dr. Laidler, "faces still other unfinished tasks. Vast economic power is still concentrated in the few. Powerful lobbies are at work seeking to alienate from the people a vast public domain; to undermine our labor and social legislation; to destroy our public power, atomic energy and housing programs; to curtail needed educational and health services, and to deny equal rights to minority groups.

"Our unemployment problem is still far from solved. Our Bill of Rights is under constant attack. Freedom of inquiry and teaching is still restricted in many educational institutions. Political corruption still persists in city, state and nation. Smear and innuendo still serve as a substitute for facts, reason and understanding in a host of political arenas. Isolationism and extreme nationalism still weaken and confuse our leadership in world affairs. And we have still seriously to plan for the full democratic use of our material and human resources for the common good."

In these fields the fifty-year record of the L.I.D. inspires confidence for future achievements. The L.I.D. has the know-how for systematic study, for research and for thoughtful recommendations for practical solutions of social and economic problems.

The League for Industrial Democracy must continue its honorable career as an educational force. It must create increasing understanding of the new powers, economic, political and cultural, in the world today. It must continue to impress upon the American people the eternal values of democracy in all phases of our common life.

Some League Cooperators (1905-1955)

AMONG THE LEADERS OF I.S.S.-L.I.D. COLLEGE CHAPTERS

- HARRY W. LAIDLER, Founder, 1905 Wesleyan I.S.S.; Bd. of Dir. of L.I.D. since 1905; Executive Officer I.S.S.-L.I.D. since 1910; Author, Economist, Lecturer.
- WALTER R. AGARD, Pres., Amherst I.S.S., 1914-15; Prof. of Classics, U. of Wis.; Pres., American Classical League.
- JAMES W. ALEXANDER, former Pres., Princeton I.S.S.; Exec. Comm. and Treas., I.S.S., 1920-21; noted mathematician.
- DEVERE ALLEN, former Pres., Oberlin I.S.S.; Bd. of Dir., L.I.D., 1939-41; Director and Editor, Worldover Press.
- HAROLD ARNOLD, Wesleyan I.S.S.; late Director of Research, Bell Telephone Laboratories (dec.).
- GREGORY BARDACHE, former Student Leader, Syracuse U. L.I.D.; Bd. of Dir., L.I.D. (1955—); Director, American Trade Union Committee for Education.
- MURRAY BARON, Member, Brooklyn Law School S.L.I.D.; Bd. of Dir., L.I.D., 1940—; Public Relations Consultant; Chairman, Manhattan Liberal Party.
- THOMAS S. BEHRE, Sec., Harvard I.S.S.; New Orleans business man, active in liberal movements (dec.).
- DANIEL BELL, Member S.L.I.D.; Bd. of Dir., L.I.D., 1948—; Labor Editor, Fortune Magazine; Author; Economist.
- JOHN K. BENEDICT, Member Union Theological Seminary S.L.I.D.; formerly Field Sec., L.I.D.
- WALTER BERGMAN, formerly of Michigan I.S.S.; Director of Research, Detroit Public Schools.
- OTTO S. BEYER, former Pres., U. of Illinois I.S.S., 1917; labor arbitrator and consultant; former Chairman, National Mediation Board (dec.).
- ANDREW J. BIEMILLER, former Sec., U. of Pa. and Philadelphia Chapters, L.I.D., 1923-32; Congressman, 1944-56; Legislative Committee, A.F. of L.
- ARROLL BINDER, Pres., 1916, Harvard I.S.S.; Editorial Editor, Minneapolis Tribune.
- GEORGE H. BISHOP, Officer U. of Michigan I.S.S., 1911; Faculty, Washington University (St. Louis).
- HILLMAN M. BISHOP, former Pres., Columbia S.L.I.D.; Assoc. Prof. of Government, C.C.N.Y.
- JULIUS S. BIXLER, former Sec., Amherst I.S.S.; Pres., Colby College.
- BRUCE BLIVEN, Pres., Stanford I.S.S., 1910-12; Editorial Director, New Republic.
- HYMAN H. BOOKBINDER, former Student Leader, S.L.I.D.; former N. Y. Executive Committee, L.I.D.; Political Researcher, C.I.O.
- RANDOLPH BOURNE, former Columbia I.S.S.; Essayist (dec.).
- LEROY E. BOWMAN, Bd. of Dir., L.I.D., 1910—; Field Secretary, 1940-1; Assoc. Prof. of Sociology, Brooklyn College.
- ROBERT A. BRADY, former U. of California S.L.I.D.; Economist.
- JEROME BRESLAW, N. Y. U. Chapter, S.L.I.D.; Chairman, S.L.I.D. (1954-5).
- PAUL F. BRISSENDEN, U. of California I.S.S.; Bd. of Dir., L.I.D., 1923; Prof. of Economics, Columbia U.
- THOMAS BROOKS, Harvard S.L.I.D.; Research Staff, T.W.U.A.
- HEYWOOD BROWN, A Founder, Harvard Socialist Club, 1906; Bd. of Dir., L.I.D., 1933-4; Columnist; Author (dec.).
- GEORGE CADBURY, U. of Pennsylvania S.L.I.D.; Bd. of Dir., L.I.D., 1953—; Economic Consultant.
- MAURICE S. CALMAN, Organizer of I.S.S. Chapter, N. Y. School of Dentistry (1911) and N.Y.U. School of Law; former Socialist Alderman, N. Y. City; Past President, Harlem Dental Society.
- WALLACE J. CAMPBELL, former Pres., U. of Oregon S.L.I.D.; Bd. of Dir., L.I.D., 1940, 1945-48; National Council since 1948; Washington Representative, Cooperative League of U.S.A.
- JESSE CAVILEER, former Pres., Syracuse U. S.L.I.D.; Student Secretary, S.L.I.D.; Bd. of Dir., 1947-49; National Council L.I.D., 1949—; Unitarian Minister, Cleveland, Ohio.
- E. RALPH CHEYNEY, Pres., U. of Pennsylvania I.S.S.; Poet (dec.).

- ALICE CHEYNEY, formerly Pres. Vassar I.S.S.; Labor Economist.
- EVANS CLARK, Pres., Amherst I.S.S., 1910; Pres. and Vice-Pres., I.S.S. and L.I.D., 1918-23; Dir., Twentieth Century Fund, 1928-53; Editorial Writer.
- EVERETT R. CLINCHY, Member, Wesleyan S.L.I.D.; Pres., National Council of Christians and Jews.
- RAMON P. COFFMAN, formerly Yale S.L.I.D.; Founder of Uncle Ray Syndicate.
- FELIX S. COHEN, Pres., C.C.N.Y. L.I.D., 1925-6; former Assist. Solicitor Department of Interior, in charge of Indian Affairs; Author; Teacher; Lawyer (dec.). Lecturer in Philosophy of Law, C.C.N.Y., Yale; Recipient of L.I.D. John Dewey Award, posthumous, 1954.
- CARA COOK, Mount Holyoke S.L.I.D.; Bd. of Dir., L.I.D., 1950—; Exec. Sec., N. Y. Ethical Culture Society.
- ELMER COPE, Ohio Wesleyan S.L.I.D.; Labor Economist.
- BABETTE DEUTCH, Member, Barnard I.S.S., 1917; Poet.
- LEONARD W. DOOB, member, Dartmouth College S.L.I.D.; Prof. of Psychology, Yale.
- PAUL H. DOUGLAS, Pres., Columbia I.S.S., 1915; Exec. Comm. I.S.S., 1915-16; Economist; U. S. Senator.
- TILFORD DUDLEY, Wesleyan S.L.I.D.; Assistant to Pres., P.A.C.-C.I.O.
- EVELYN DUBROW, formerly N. J. College for Women S.L.I.D.; Sec., New York A.D.A.
- GEORGE EDWARDS, formerly Pres., Harvard S.L.I.D.; former Field Sec., S.L.I.D.; Judge of Court of Domestic Relations, Detroit.
- ETHAN E. EDLOFF, formerly U. of Michigan I.S.S. and Detroit L.I.D.; Educator.
- GUSTAV EGLOFF, Pres., Cornell I.S.S., 1910-12; Leading American Chemist.
- SAMUEL A. ELIOT, Jr., former Harvard I.S.S., 1912; Prof. of English, Smith College.
- HERBERT L. ELVIN, Yale S.L.I.D.; Director, Dept. of Education, UNESCO.
- BORIS EMMET, Officer, U. of Wisconsin I.S.S., 1911; Labor Statistician.
- ABRAHAM EPSTEIN, former Pres. U. of Pittsburgh I.S.S.; Bd. of Dir., L.I.D., 1940-1; founder and former Sec., American Association for Social Security; Authority on Social Insurance (dec.).
- HAROLD U. FAULKNER, Wesleyan I.S.S., 1913; National Council, L.I.D.; Prof. of History, Smith College; Authority on Economic History.
- WILLIAM M. FEIGENBAUM, founder, 1906, of Columbia U. I.S.S.; newspaper man (dec.).
- SAMUEL H. FINE, active in N.Y.U. S.L.I.D.; former Chairman, S.L.I.D.; Bd. of Dir., 1952-54; Accountant, I.L.G.W.U.
- OSMOND FRAENKEL, Pres. Columbia I.S.S. (1910); N.Y. Attorney; Counsel, A.C.L.U.
- ANNA CAPLES FRANK, Vassar S.L.I.D.; former Membership Secretary, L.I.D.; Public Relations Counselor.
- ISABELLE B. FRIEDMAN, Hunter College I.S.S.; Bd. of Dir., L.I.D., 1951—; Pres. N.Y. Chapter, 1954-55; Representative of L.I.D. at N.C.O. of UN.
- SAMUEL H. FRIEDMAN, formerly Leader C.C.N.Y. I.S.S. Chapter; former Pres., N.Y. Chapter, L.I.D.; Bd. of Dir., L.I.D. 1953—; Pres., Community and Social Agency Employees Union; Socialist leader.
- ROLAND GIBSON, formerly with Dartmouth College S.L.I.D.; formerly, Bd. of Dir., L.I.D.; Political Scientist, U. of Illinois.
- LOUIS GOLLUMB, Leader C.C.N.Y. I.S.S., 1912; Writer.
- WILLIAM GOMBERG, C.C.N.Y. S.L.I.D. Chapter; Director, Management Engineering Department, I.L.G.W.U.
- JOHN TEMPLE GRAVES, Officer, Princeton I.S.S., 1911; Author, Columnist, Lecturer.
- ROBERT HALPERN, Pres. C.C.N.Y. Chapter, L.I.D.; N.Y. Attorney.
- WILLIAM HABER, U. of Wisconsin S.L.I.D.; Prof. of Economics, U. of Michigan.
- ELIZABETH HEALEY, formerly Connecticut College; Student Secretary, S.L.I.D., 1947-49; Social Worker.
- JAMES HENLE, Vice-Pres., Columbia I.S.S.; Pres. Vanguard Press, 1928-52.
- JOHN HERLING, formerly Harvard S.L.I.D.; formerly active in Emergency Committee for Strikers Relief and in L.I.D. radio activities; Editor, John Herling's Labor Letter.
- SIDNEY HERTZBERG, Wisconsin S.L.I.D.; Bd. of Dir., L.I.D., 1945—; Writer; Foreign Correspondent.
- RENE E. HOGUET, Former Harvard Chapter I.S.S.; former Pres., N. Y. Chapter; Businessman.
- ARTHUR N. HOLCOMBE, Harvard Chapter, I.S.S., 1906; Prof. of Government, Harvard; Pres., American Political Science Association, 1936.
- ARROLL HOLLISTER, Amherst College, S.L.I.D.; Pianist.
- HONEY HOOK, Pres., C.C.N.Y. Chapter, S.L.I.D., 1922-23; Receiver, L.I.D. John Dewey Award, 1953; Chairman, Department of Philosophy, N.Y.U.; Author.
- HAROLD HUTCHESON, Yale S.L.I.D.; Prof. of English, Lake Forest College.
- GENIA INGERMAN, Sec., Barnard I.S.S., 1910; Physician.
- MORRIS IUSHEWITZ, Milwaukee State Teachers College S.L.I.D.; Board of Directors, L.I.D., 1951—; Sec.-Treas., N.Y. City C.I.O. Industrial Council.
- NICHOLAS KELLEY, Charter Member, Harvard I.S.S.; Bd. of Dir., L.I.D., 1912-1933; Vice-President and General Counsel, Chrysler Corporation.
- MURRAY KEMPTON, Member L.I.D. Summer School, 1938; Bd. of Dir. and National Council, L.I.D. since 1951; Columnist.
- REDA KIRCHWEY, Sec. and Pres., Barnard I.S.S., 1912-15; former Bd. of Dir., L.I.D.; Publisher, The Nation.
- WILLIAM KLARE, Officer U. of Michigan I.S.S., 1911; former Vice. Pres. Statler Corp.
- WYNARD KRUEGER, U. of Pennsylvania and Philadelphia Chapters, L.I.D. 1928-32; Prof. of Economics, U. of Chicago.
- WILLIAM SARGENT LADD, Amherst I.S.S.; former Dean, Cornell Medical (dec.).
- JOSEPH P. LASH, Former Sec. S.L.I.D.; N. Y. Correspondent, N.Y. Post.
- JOHN V. P. LASOUE, Jr., Yale S.L.I.D.; Director of Adult Education, A.A.U.N.
- WILLIAM L. LEISERSON, Pres. U. of Wisconsin I.S.S., 1907-8; Economist, former Chairman National Mediation Board.
- DANIEL LERNER, formerly N.Y.U. S.L.I.D.; Author; Authority on Psychology of Propaganda.
- JAN LERNER, Brookings Institution S.L.I.D. at Washington U. (St. Louis); Columnist; Teacher; Writer.
- ARON LEVENSTEIN, Member, SLID; National Council, L.I.D.; Research Institute of America; Author.
- IRACE MENDELSON LEVY, former Brooklyn College S.L.I.D. and Sec., S.L.I.D.; Staff, N.Y.C. Housing Authority.
- HAROLD J. LEWACK, Officer, N.Y.U. L.I.D.; National Pres., S.L.I.D., 1954; Labor Educator.
- JOHN L. LEWINE, Yale S.L.I.D.; Exec. Com., N.Y. Chapter; Teacher; Sec., American Institute of France.
- JOHN F. LEWIS, Jr., formerly U. of Pennsylvania, I.S.S.; Philadelphia Lawyer and Civic Reformer.
- MARX LEWIS, N.Y.U.-S.L.I.D.; Bd. of Dir., L.I.D., 1945—; Sec.-Treas., United Hat, Cap and Millinery Workers Union.
- WALTER LIPPMANN, Pres., Harvard Socialist Club, 1909-10; Exec. Comm., I.S.S., 1911-12; Columnist; Author.
- KARL N. LLEWELLYN, formerly Yale S.L.I.D.; Prof. of Law, U. of Chicago; Author.
- CHARLOTTE TUTTLE LLOYD, former Pres., Vassar S.L.I.D.; former Attorney, Department of Interior.
- ROGER S. LOOMIS, formerly U. of Illinois I.S.S.; Prof. of English Literature, Columbia U.
- JAY LOVESTONE, Pres. C.C.N.Y. I.S.S.; Dir., International Relations, ILGWU.
- ISADOR LUBIN, former Pres., Clark and U. of Missouri I.S.S.; Labor Statistician; Industrial Commissioner, N. Y. State.
- JEROME LUBIN, Brooklyn College S.L.I.D.; former Chairman, S.L.I.D.; City Planner.
- CHARLES LUCKMAN, Sec., Kansas City Junior College S.L.I.D.; former Pres., Lever Brothers; Architect.
- KENNETH MACGOWAN, Pres., Harvard I.S.S., 1910-11; Prof. of Theater Arts, U.C.L.A.; Dramatic Critic; Movie Producer.
- CHARLES A. MADISON, Pres., U. of Michigan I.S.S.; Publisher; Author.
- ANITA MARBURG, Vassar I.S.S.; Educator.
- OTTO C. MARCKWARDT, Adviser, U. of Michigan I.S.S., for many years; English Dept. U. of Michigan.
- WILL MASLOW, active in S.L.I.D.; Director, Commission on Law and Social Action, American Jewish Congress.
- RALPH McALLISTER, member SLID; Director, Program and Education, Chautauqua.
- ARTHUR McDOWELL, U. of Pittsburgh; Staff, Upholsterers International Union of N.A.

- DANIEL MEBANE, former Pres. U. of Indiana I.S.S.; former Treas. and Pub., New Republic.
- KENNETH MEIKLEJOHN, former Swarthmore S.L.I.D.; Specialist in Labor Law.
- INEZ MILHOLLAND, Pres. Vassar I.S.S.; Lawyer (dec.).
- SPENCER MILLER, Jr., Amherst I.S.S.; former Secretary, Workers Education Bureau and Asst. Sec. of Labor.
- HIRAM K. MODERWELL, Sec. Harvard I.S.S., 1911; Foreign Correspondent; Dramatic Critic (dec.).
- EMANUEL MURAVCHIK, Member, S.L.I.D.; Bd. of Dir., L.I.D.; Field Sec., Jewish Labor Committee.
- MARGARET J. NAUMBERG, Pres. Barnard I.S.S., 1910; Educator.
- LELAND OLDS, formerly Amherst I.S.S.; Receiver of John Dewey Award, L.I.D., 1953; former Chairman, Federal Power Commission.
- SAMUEL ORR, N.Y.U. I.S.S.; Exec. Com., N.Y. Chapter, 1954—; former Judge; Labor Lawyer.
- GUS PAPANEEK, formerly Cornell SLID; Chairman, S.L.I.D., 1952; Agricultural Consultant, Pakistan.
- TALCOTT PARSONS, Sec., Amherst S.L.I.D., 1923-24; Prof. of Sociology, Harvard; Author.
- SELIG PERLMAN, U. of Wisconsin I.S.S., 1909-10; Prof. of Economics, U. of Wisconsin; Author.
- IRVING PHILLIPS, formerly Harvard S.L.I.D.; former Field Sec., S.L.I.D.; Staff, I.L.G.W.U.
- RICHARD POETHIG, formerly Wooster S.L.I.D.; former Sec., S.L.I.D.; Minister.
- JUSTINE WISE POLIER, formerly, Barnard S.L.I.D.; Justice, Court of Domestic Relations, N.Y.C.
- PAUL R. PORTER, formerly Kansas U. S.L.I.D.; former Field Sec., L.I.D.; Former Deputy Administrator, E.C.A., Europe; President, Porter International Corporation.
- DOROTHY PSATHAS, Connecticut College S.L.I.D.; Sec., S.L.I.D., 1951-52; Public Service.
- CARL RAUSHENBUSH, Amherst I.S.S.; former Bd. of Dir., L.I.D.; National Council; Labor Economist.
- H. S. RAUSHENBUSH, Amherst I.S.S., 1916-17; Sec., L.I.D. Committee on Coal and Power, 1926-29; Author; Researcher, Public Affairs Institute.
- PAUL RAUSHENBUSH, former Amherst I.S.S.; Economist.
- VICTOR G. REUTHER, formerly Wayne U. S.L.I.D.; Bd. of Dir., L.I.D., 1950—; Assistant to President, C.I.O.
- WALTER P. REUTHER, founder and Pres., Wayne U. S.L.I.D., 1932; Receiver of League's John Dewey Award, 1950; President, C.I.O.; President, U.A.W.-C.I.O.
- JOHN P. ROCHE, formerly Cornell S.L.I.D.; Vice-Pres., S.L.I.D.; Bd. of Dir., 1948; Assoc. Prof. of Government, Haverford College.
- WILL ROGERS, Jr., formerly Stanford U. S.L.I.D., 1934-35; Editor; Actor.
- LAWRENCE ROGIN, formerly Columbia U. S.L.I.D.; Educational Director, T.W.U.A.
- LEONORE COHEN ROSENFELD, formerly Mount Holyoke S.L.I.D.; Housewife.
- HENRY ROSNER, formerly C.C.N.Y. S.L.I.D.; Director, Division of Finance and Statistics, Welfare Department, N.Y.C.
- HARRY RUBIN, N.Y.U. S.L.I.D.; Bd. of Dir., 1948-52.
- MORRIS H. RUBIN, Wisconsin U. SLID; Editor, Progressive Magazine.
- RAYMOND RUBINOW, U. of Pennsylvania S.L.I.D.; Consultant on International Relations.
- DAVID J. SAPOSS, Pres. Sec., Wisconsin U. I.S.S., 1940; Labor Economist; Author.
- EMIL SCHLESINGER, former Pres. C.C.N.Y. S.L.I.D.; Labor Attorney.
- LAURENCE SEELYE, Amherst I.S.S.; former Pres., St. Lawrence University.
- CLARENCE SENIOR, U. of Kansas S.L.I.D.; Bd. of Dir., L.I.D.; Receiver of John Dewey Award, 1953; Sociologist; Authority on Latin America.
- ANDRE SHIFRIN, Yale Chapter, 1951-55; Exec. Comm., S.L.I.D.
- WILLIAM SHIRER, formerly Sec., Case College S.L.I.D.; Author; Correspondent.
- DAVID SINCLAIR, Wisconsin U. SLID; formerly, N.Y. Exec. Comm.; Physician.
- ALBERT J. SMALLHEISER, former Sec. Columbia I.S.S., 1911-12; Social Science Teacher and active spirit in N. Y. Teachers Guild.
- TUCKER SMITH, N.Y.U. I.S.S.; Economist.
- BORIS STERN, U. of Wisconsin I.S.S.; Staff, U.S. Department of Labor.
- VING STONE, formerly Officer, U. of So. Cal., S.L.I.D.; Novelist.
- EDWAY TEAD, Pres., Amherst I.S.S., 1911-12; Research Director, L.I.D., 1914-15; Teacher; Publisher; Author; former Chairman, Board of Higher Education, New York City.
- MAR TEPER, Johns Hopkins S.L.I.D.; Research Director, I.L.G.W.U.
- ONROE SWEETLAND, formerly Syracuse U. S.L.I.D.; former Field Sec., S.L.I.D.; National Council; Editor, Oregon Democrat.
- HANK TRAGER, Johns Hopkins University L.I.D.; Bd. of Dir., L.I.D., 1951—; former Director, M.S.A., Barnard; Prof. of Research, N.Y.U.
- ES TYLER, C.C.N.Y.-S.L.I.D.; Political Director, I.L.G.W.U.
- IRRY VOORHIS, formerly Yale L.I.D.; Sec., Cooperative League of U.S.A.
- IMAN A. WAKSMAN, Sec. Rutgers U. Chapter, 1914-15; Receiver of John Dewey Award, L.I.D., 1953; Co-discoverer of Streptomycin.
- MES WECHSLER, Columbia S.L.I.D.; Editor, New York Post.
- RAY B. WESTERFELD, Sec., Yale I.S.S.; Economist, Banker.
- INA WEISENBERG, Hunter College I.S.S.; Bd. of Dir., 1954-55; Sec. N.Y. Chapter L.I.D.; Treas., N.Y. Teachers Guild, A.F.L.; Teacher of Social Studies.
- NATHANIEL WEYL, Columbia S.L.I.D.; Writer; Economist.
- ALVIN G. WHITNEY, Pres., Yale I.S.S., 1910-11; Forester.
- ELSIE GIBSON WHITNEY, Middlebury College I.S.S., 1914; Publicist.
- SIMON W. WHITNEY, formerly, Yale S.L.I.D.; Economist.
- PAUL WILLEN, Founder Oberlin College S.L.I.D.; Writer.
- CHESTER WILLIAMS, U.C.L.A.-S.L.I.D.; Writer; Lecturer on International Relations.
- DAVID WILLIAMS, Pres., Marietta College I.S.S., 1909-10; Unitarian Minister.
- FRANK WINN, formerly, U. of Michigan, S.L.I.D.; Editor, U.A.W.-C.I.O. Magazine.
- THERESA WOLFSON, former President Adelphi College I.S.S.; Bd. of Dir., L.I.D., 1941—; Receiver of L.I.D. John Dewey Award, 1945; Prof. of Economics, Brooklyn College; Author.
- JAMES YOUNGDAHL, Washington U. S.L.I.D.; Field Secretary, S.L.I.D. Southwestern Organizer, A.C.W.A.
- GERTRUDE FOLKS ZIMAND, Pres., Vassar I.S.S., 1917; Secretary, National Child Labor Committee.
- MILTON ZATINSKY, former member S.L.I.D.; Labor Economist.

(Partial List — Other Names Welcomed)

A Few Other Cooperators - Past and Present

- LEONARD D. ABBOTT, signer of call to I.S.S.; Editor, Writer (dec.).
- CHARLES ABRAMS, Bd. of Dir., L.I.D., 1954-55; Housing Expert; N.Y. State Administrator of Rent Control, 1955.
- LUIGI ANTONINI, Bd. of Dir., L.I.D. since 1951; First Vice-Pres., I.L.G.W.U.
- JESSE ASHLEY, Exec. Com., I.S.S., 1912-13; 1917-18; N.Y. Attorney; Prof. of Law; Feminist (dec.).
- GEORGE E. AXTELL, Bd. of Dir., L.I.D., 1951-55; Prof. of Education, N.Y.U.
- FERN BABCOCK, Bd. of Dir., L.I.D., 1946-55; Program Coordinator, National Council, Y.W.C.A.
- GEORGE BACKER, Bd. of Dir., L.I.D. since 1953; Businessman; Editor; former Pres., O.R.T.
- HOPE S. BAGGER, Exec. Comm., N.Y. Chapter, L.I.D.; Author.
- EMILY G. BALCH, Exec. Com., I.S.S., 1919-20; Winner of Nobel Peace Prize (1946).
- ROGER BALDWIN, Bd. of Dir., L.I.D., 1920-23; Director, A.C.L.U., 1917-52; Ch. of Bd., International League for the Rights of Man.
- ANGELA BAMRACE, National Council, L.I.D.; Staff, Baltimore I.L.G.W.U.
- SOLOMON BARKIN, Bd. of Dir., L.I.D. since 1953; Dir. of Research, T.W.U.A.
- BENJAMIN W. BARKAS, former Chairman, Philadelphia Chapter, L.I.D.; Labor Educator.
- KATRINA MCCORMICK BARNES, Bd. of Dir., L.I.D. since 1953; Pamphlet Sec. since 1953; Sec. A.C.L.U.
- JACK BARBASH, Bd. of Dir., L.I.D., 1947-52; National Council since 1952; Labor Economist; Author of "Taft-Hartley Act in Action," etc.
- JOHN BAUER, Bd. of Dir., L.I.D., 1938-42; Economist; Writer; Authority on Public Utilities; Author, "America's Struggle for Electric Power," etc.
- CHARLES A. BEARD, Faculty Sponsor I.S.S.; Historian.
- HELEN MARSTON BEARDSLEY, National Council, L.I.D.; Housewife; Active in Peace Movements.
- ARNOLD BEICHMAN, Bd. of Dir., L.I.D., 1950-54; National Council since 1954; Press Representative, International Confederation of Free Trade Unions.
- ROBERT BENDINER, Bd. of Dir., L.I.D., 1948-52; Writer.
- NELSON BENGSTON, Bd. of Dir., L.I.D. since 1948; Investment Counselor.
- JOHN C. BENNETT, Vice-Pres., L.I.D., 1951-; Dean, Union Theological Seminary; Author.
- VICTOR L. BERGER, Guest of Honor at League's Carnegie Hall Meeting, 1911; Congressman; Socialist Leader (dec.).
- JACOB BILLIKOFF, formerly National Council, L.I.D.; Labor Arbitrator (dec.).
- ALFRED M. BINGHAM, cooperator, L.I.D.; Writer; Legislator.
- FREDERICK C. BIRD, former Sec., L.I.D. Committee on Coal and Power; Director, Department of Municipal Research, Dumm and Bradstreet.
- HELEN BLANKENHORN, Bd. of Dir., L.I.D., 1923-24; Writer.
- BRAND BLANSHARD, National Council, L.I.D.; Professor of Philosophy, Yale.
- PAUL BLANSHARD, Field Sec. and Lecturer, L.I.D., 1923-1933; Commissioner of Investigation, New York City, 1933-7; Writer; Lecturer.
- HARRIET STANTON BLATCH, former Exec. Com., I.S.S.; Suffrage Leader.
- ANITA C. BLOCK, Bd. of Dir., L.I.D., 1923-33; Lecturer, Dramatic Critic.
- FRANK BOHN, Frequent Lecturer for L.I.D.; Writer; Lecturer.
- WILLIAM E. BOHN, formerly active in U. of Michigan I.S.S.; formerly Staff, Socialist Review, Editor, New Leader.
- KARL BORDERS, former Sec., Chicago Chapter, L.I.D.; former Chief Administrator, UN International Children's Fund (dec.).
- LOUIS B. BOUDIN, Exec. Com., I.S.S., 1917-21; Attorney; Authority on socialism and labor and constitutional problems (dec.).
- JARNE BRAATOY, Pres., L.I.D., 1940-41; Bd. of Dir., L.I.D. 1940-48; National Council since 1948; Author; Teacher, Technical Consultant, German Social Democratic Party.
- HILLIPS BRADLEY, Bd. of Dir., L.I.D. since 1949; Prof. of Government, Syracuse U.
- WE BRANDSTEIN, Exec. Com., N. Y. Chapter, L.I.D. since 1951; Exec. Sec., National Committee for Rural Schools.
- RAY VLADECK BROMBERG, Bd. of Dir., L.I.D., 1940-42; Social Service.
- ROBERT W. BRUEHRE, Exec. Comm., I.S.S., 1908-10; Writer; Labor Mediator and Arbitrator.
- ROSEMARY BULL, Bd. of Dir., L.I.D. since 1954; Publicist.
- ALPH J. BUNCHE, Receiver of L.I.D. Award, 1951; Winner of Nobel Peace Prize.
- ELIZABETH R. BUTLER, Exec. Com., I.S.S., 1907-08; Writer on Labor (dec.).
- AMES B. CAREY, National Council, L.I.D.; Pres. I.U.E.-C.I.O.; Sec. Treas. C.I.O.
- INNIE D. CARLIPH, former Exec. Com., N.Y. Chapter; Active in work for Civil Liberties.
- HENRY CARPENTER, Bd. of Dir., L.I.D., 1945-54; former Exec. Sec., Brooklyn Division, Protestant Council (dec.).
- IRVING B. CHAFFEE, former Bd. of Dir., L.I.D.; former Director, Labor Temple, New York (dec.).
- OSCAR L. CHAPMAN, Receiver of L.I.D. Award, 1953; former U.S. Secretary of the Interior.
- HART CHASE, Treas., L.I.D. in the twenties; Lecturer; Author of "Waste and the Machine Age," etc.
- JOHN L. CHILDS, Bd. of Dir., L.I.D. since 1948; Prof. Emeritus of Philosophy of Education, Teachers College, Columbia; Author; former Chairman, Liberal Party.
- ORDON R. CLAPP, Bd. of Dir., L.I.D. since 1955; former Chairman, T.N.A.; Deputy Administrator, N.Y. City.
- HEBEL CLYDE, Bd. of Dir., L.I.D. during thirties; active in many social movements.
- WILLIAM F. COCHRAN, Host of I.S.S. at Summer Conference in 1916; former member National Council (dec.).
- ANNIA M. COHN, long member of I.S.S. and L.I.D.; former N. Y. Exec. Com., L.I.D.; Sec., Education Department, I.L.G.W.U.
- M. J. COLDWELL, Vice-Pres., L.I.D.; Member, Canadian Parliament; Leader of C.C.P. of Canada.
- McALISTER COLEMAN, L.I.D. Lecturer; Writer; Labor Editor; Author (dec.).
- GEORGE WILLIS COOKE, Exec. Com., I.S.S., 1905-08; Minister; Writer.
- ALBERT SPRAGUE COOLIDGE, Bd. of Dir., L.I.D.; Department of Chemistry, Harvard; active in American Federation of Teachers and other organizations.
- JESSICA G. COSGRAVE, Exec. Com., I.S.S., 1911-13; Vice-Pres., 1911-12; former Pres., Finch School (dec.).
- GEORGE S. COUNTS, Bd. of Dir., L.I.D. since 1954; Prof. of Philosophy of Education, Teachers College, Columbia; former Chairman, Liberal Party; Author.
- GRACE L. COYLE, National Council, L.I.D.; Prof., School of Applied Social Sciences, Western Reserve University; Pres., National Conference of Social Work (1916).
- GEORGE F. CRANMORE, Bd. of Dir., L.I.D., 1944-50; Assist. Regional Director, U.A.W.-C.I.O. (dec.).
- FRANK R. CROSSWAITH, frequent League Lecturer; Secretary, Negro Labor Committee; Member, N. Y. City Housing Authority.
- MAX DANISH, former Bd. of Dir., L.I.D.; former Editor, *Justice*.
- CLARENCE DARROW, Signer of Call for Formation of League; Labor and Civil Liberties Attorney (dec.).
- MAURICE P. DAVIDSON, Bd. of Dir., L.I.D. 1946-54; National Council since 1951; N.Y. Attorney; former Commissioner, N.Y. State Power Authority.
- JEROME DAVIS, former Bd. of Dir., L.I.D. 1936-41; Author; Lecturer; Teacher.
- EUGENE V. DEBS, Frequent League Lecturer; Socialist Leader (dec.).
- JEROME DE HUNT, former Bd. of Dir., L.I.D.; Trade Union and Labor Political Leader.
- SOLOMON DE LEON, former Bd. of Dir., L.I.D.; Economic Researcher.
- MAX DELSON, Bd. of Dir., L.I.D. since 1950; Chairman, Finance Com., since 1952; Labor and Civil Liberties Attorney.

- ALBERT DE SILVER, Exec. Com., I.S.S. and Bd. of Dir., L.I.D., 1919-34; Treasurer, 1919-20; Lawyer; former Director, A.C.L.U. (dec.).
- JOHN DEWEY, Pres., L.I.D. 1939-40; Honorary Pres., 1940-1953; Leading American Educator and Philosopher; Prof. of Philosophy, Columbia Univ. (dec.).
- SAMUEL DE WITT, Bd. of Dir., L.I.D. since 1945; Businessman; Poet; Dramatist; Lecturer.
- FRANK C. DOAN, Exec. Com., I.S.S., 1912-14; Prof., Meadville Theological Seminary; Writer (dec.).
- T. C. DOUGLAS, Receiver of Award, 1953; Premier of Saskatchewan, Canada.
- DAVID DUBINSKY, Receiver of L.I.D. Award, 1919; Pres., I.L.G.W.U.
- ELIZABETH DUTCHER, Exec. Com., I.S.S. 1907-10; Social Worker.
- KERMIT EBY, Bd. of Dir., L.I.D., 1950-54; National Council, since 1954; Assoc. Prof. of Social Sciences, U. of Chicago.
- SHERWOOD EDDY, frequent Lecturer for L.I.D.; Author; Writer; Religious Leader.
- JOHN LOVEJOY ELLIOTT, former Bd. of Dir., L.I.D.; head of Hudson Guild; Leader, N.Y. Ethical Culture Society (dec.).
- HENRIETTA EPSTEIN, Exec. Com., N.Y. Chapter, 1954-55; Social Insurance Expert.
- MORRIS ERNST, Bd. of Dir., L.I.D., 1923-24; Lawyer; Writer; Attorney, A.C.L.U.
- SAMUEL B. EUBANKS, Bd. of Dir., L.I.D., 1919-54; National Council since 1954; former Vice-Pres., National Newspaper Guild.
- JAMES FARMER, Student Field Sec., S.L.I.D., since 1950; Lecturer; Writer.
- JAMES T. FARRELL, National Council, L.I.D.; Novelist.
- ISRAEL FEINBERG, Bd. of Dir., L.I.D., 1950-54; former Manager, N.Y. Joint Board, Cloakmakers' Union (dec.).
- LOUIS FISCHER, Bd. of Dir., L.I.D., since 1950; Writer; Lecturer; Author of "Life of Caudli," etc.
- HARRY F. FLEISCHMAN, Exec. Com., N.Y. Chapter, since 1954; Director, National Labor Service, American Jewish Congress.
- LOUISE ADAMS FLOYD, Exec. Com., I.S.S. and Pres., N.Y. Chapter, 1919 to early twenties (dec.).
- WALTER FRANK, frequent host L.I.D. meetings; N.Y. attorney; leader in civil and social movements.
- EPHRAIM FRISCH, Bd. of Dir., L.I.D., since 1945; Rabbi; former Chairman, Commission of Justice and Peace, Central Conference of Jewish Rabbis.
- WALTER G. FULLER, Bd. of Dir., L.I.D. 1921-22; Writer; Editor (dec.).
- A. GARRICK FULLERTON, Exec. Com., N.Y. Chapter, since 1954; Economic Researcher.
- ZONA GALE, Vice-Pres., L.I.D., 1923-25; Novelist (dec.).
- LEWIS S. GANNETT, Bd. of Dir., L.I.D., 1920-24; Literary Editor, New York Herald Tribune.
- BENJAMIN GEBNER, Bd. of Dir., L.I.D., since 1950; Assist. Sec., Workmen's Circle.
- MARTIN GERBER, Bd. of Dir., L.I.D., since 1953; Director, Region 9, U.A.W.-C.I.O.
- W. J. GHENT, Sec., I.S.S., 1907-10; Author; Editor; Educator.
- CHARLOTTE PERKINS GILMAN, Signer of Organization Call, I.S.S.; Author; Feminist.
- ELISABETH GILMAN, Pres., L.I.D., 1940-41; Sec., Christian Social Justice Fund (dec.).
- ARTHUR GLEASON, Exec. Com., I.S.S. and Bd. of Dir., L.I.D., 1918-23; Pres., I.S.S., 1920-21; Vice-Pres., L.I.D., 1921-23; Writer (dec.).
- LOUIS P. GOLDBERG, Bd. of Dir., L.I.D., since 1945; National Chairman, Social Democratic Federation; N. Y. Attorney.
- MAURICE GOLDBLOOM, formerly N.Y. Executive Committee; Writer on international and inter-cultural affairs.
- CLARA G. GOLDMAN, National Council, L.I.D.; Housewife; Active in peace movements.
- J. KING GORDON, Bd. of Dir., L.I.D., 1945-52; former Managing Editor, The Nation; on staff of UN.
- FRANCES A. GRANT, Exec. Com., N.Y. Chapter, L.I.D., since 1954; Sec., U. S. Committee of Inter-American Association for Democracy and Freedom.
- ELMER E. GRAHAM, former Chairman, Detroit Chapter; staff, U.A.W.-C.I.O.
- JOHN H. GRAY, National Council, L.I.D.; former Pres., American Economic Association (dec.).
- FELIX GRENDON, former Exec. Com., I.S.S.; Shavian Authority; Teacher.
- MURRAY GROSS, Bd. of Dir., L.I.D. since 1950; Assist. Manager, New York Joint Board, Dressmakers' Unions.
- CHARLES GROSSMAN, Bd. of Dir., L.I.D. since 1950; Businessman; Chairman, Reunion of Old Timers.
- HAROLD M. GROVES, National Council, L.I.D.; Prof. of Economics, U. of Wisconsin.
- AMERON P. HALL, Bd. of Dir., L.I.D., 1917-49; Exec. Sec., Department of Church and Economic Life, National Council of Churches.
- M. V. HALUSHKA, Chicago Chapter; Teacher.
- MEYER HALUSHKA, Chicago Chapter; Educator.
- JOSE LADDON HANNA, former Exec. Sec., I.S.S.; Writer; Lecturer.
- DONALD HARRINGTON, National Council, L.I.D.; Minister, Community Church, N.Y. City.
- A. J. HAYES, Vice-Pres., L.I.D., since 1954; Pres., International Association of Machinists.
- ELEN HAYES, Exec. Com., I.S.S., 1916-17; Author; Prof. of Mathematics, Wellesley College (dec.).
- PAUL R. HAYES, Bd. of Dir., and National Council, L.I.D., since 1951; Prof. of Law, Columbia U.
- THOMAS HEALY, Bd. of Dir., L.I.D., 1925; Trade Union Leader.
- EDUARD HEIMANN, National Council, L.I.D.; Prof. of Economics, New School; Author.
- ADOLPH HELD, Bd. of Dir., L.I.D., since 1945; Director, Welfare and Health Benefits, I.L.G.W.U.; Chairman, Jewish Labor Committee.
- ALBERT H. HERLING, Bd. of Dir., L.I.D., 1952-53; Staff, City of Hope; Author.
- MARY FOX HERLING, Exec. Sec., L.I.D., 1929-40; National Council since 1940; active in public and cooperative housing.
- HUBERT C. HERRING, Bd. of Dir., L.I.D., 1933-38; Exec. Director, Committee on Cultural Relations with Latin America; Author.
- THOMAS WENTWORTH HIGGINSON, Signer of Call to Organization, 1905; Author; Literary Critic.
- MORRIS HILLQUIT, Treas., I.S.S., 1908-15; N. Y. Labor Attorney; Socialist Leader; Author (dec.).
- MARY W. HILLYER (Blanshard), Bd. of Dir., L.I.D., 1940-49; Director, L.I.D. Lecture Series in thirties; Staff, Planned Parenthood Association.
- JULIUS HOCHMAN, Bd. of Dir., L.I.D., 1936-38; Manager, N.Y. Joint Board, Dressmaker Union.
- JOHN HAYNES HOLMES, Vice-Pres., L.I.D., since 1938; Minister Emeritus, N.Y. Community Church.
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